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fully developed by the intelligence of our citizens; we may have great moral advantages, which have made this country the home of the oppressed from every land, but, for all that, we are what the Declaration of Independence proclaims us to be—one among the nations of the earth, and what has been written in history was written for our learning.

What are the things which we condemn in the history of other nations? Where do we fix our censure? Our disapproval has fallen nowhere more clearly or emphatically than upon those acts whereby one nation has sought to extend its territory by conquest; whereby nations have sent their armies beyond their own territories and forced unwilling peoples of no kindred or connection to come under their yoke. If in this regard we condemn Macedonia and Rome and France, if England was wrong in its oppression of the American colonies, if Spain was wrong in its treatment of the Cubans, if these and many other examples show that eager sacrifice and patriotic devotion have been wasted and given when a cause was wrong, what right have we to claim that it may not be so with us? What right have we to say that we alone are right? How do we know that the verdict of history shall not be pronounced against us? Let us rather confess that, if it is wrong, before God and before conscience, for other nations to traverse land and sea to bring into subjugation unwilling peoples, that same thing is wrong in the United States, and that the so-called patriot who glorifies his country, right or wrong, is no true patriot, but would place upon her head a crown of thorns and scourge her before he garbs her in a purple robe. Let us be honest with ourselves and admit the conclusion that, if these things are wrong for others, they are wrong for us; that, no matter what the Senate, the popular Assembly, the judges and popular opinion may pronounce, it is not right for our troops to trample down the inhabitants of the Philippines and make them our subjects against their will.

Another thing which we condemn in other nations is the crime, the sin, the blunder of war. Cicero said that he preferred the most unjust peace to the most just war, and Franklin declared that there never had been a bad peace or a good war. War is in itself always inherently and inevitably bad. There may be times when good comes of it, as good comes of surgery. We do not deceive ourselves to the point of believing that surgery is in itself other than terrible or that it has any place other than that of a last desperate resort, and you know of the doctrine of conservative surgery, which has saved whole thousands of bodies and preserved thousands of lives. It is said that when London was destroyed by the great conflagration it destroyed the germs of the recurring pestilence, and there has not been a pestilence in London since. But we know a better way of combating pestilence than the burning of cities. Wars kill off the very men who would be the life and strength of the country, and those who survive are likely to be the men who could be more easily spared. And to the period immediately following war leaves a legacy of passions which have no place in the human heart. This period, no matter to what extent the struggle has been characterized by devotion and sacrifice, is one of national degradation and corruption. Such a period which followed our Civil War is yet clear in memory, with its evidence

that the conscience of the people and the quality of public service were never on so low a plane. You have heard General Sherman's declaration that war is hell, and to that I add that soldiers are devils employed amid the environment of the infernal regions, and not in the pure air of peace and patriotism. And, in saying this, I refer to the circumstances of war, not in all cases to the causes which produce it; to what the work of a soldier is and to the direction such employment gives to character, not to those by whom these influences are successfully resisted. We have been told that we should not criticise a war while it is in progress. Grant said after the Mexican War that it was wrong. Webster opposed it before it was entered upon. It was right for Webster to take this attitude in 1845, and for Grant to support it after 1848, but it was, we may infer, from some recent teaching, the duty of Webster and Grant to lie about the matter in 1846 and 1847. That is the way war demoralizes men.

If we know of the atrocities of soldiers, we are adjured in the name of patriotism not to mention them and not to bring the perpetrators to just punishment. This is the theory of that false patriotism that raises the cry, "Our country, right or wrong." In the agitation for the abolition of slavery and in the sermon of Channing, which has never been answered to this day, the same severe and true things were said of war that were said of slavery. It was said that the demoralizing effects of slavery were even greater upon the master than upon the slave; and it was said that war worked a greater injury upon the victor than upon the vanquished. Dueling was taken up as a means of vindication of honor, but when intelligence and conscience had reached a point which made the custom an affront to civilization, laws were enacted for its suppression, notwithstanding that no provision was made for meeting the needs of wounded honor, often fanciful and absurd, which constituted the grounds for a duel. Like notions of national honor lead most often to war, and reason and conscience demand that wars must cease. Dueling was often a farce, and wars of honor are likely to be closed by treaties of peace equally inadequate and inconclusive. But, upon the appearance of opportunity, we have forgotten our detestation of wars of conquest, our knowledge of the bitter fruits of all war, and have readily entered upon war with all its horrors, and that a war of subjugation, with no better excuse than the trite and discredited one of benevolent assimilation. The true patriot loves his country as a father loves his children, as I love my pupils; but am I not, because I love my pupils, to check, to control and warn them and to maintain my authority? And the authority and responsibility in this country is the part of every man and woman in it.

New Books.

MILITARISM. By Guglielmo Ferrero. Translated from the Italian. 8vo, 320 pages. London: Ward, Lock & Co. Price, 12 shillings.

This English edition of Mr. Ferrero's scholarly work on "Militarism" is an important addition to the literature of the subject now open to English readers. The Italian work, first published in 1898, aroused a good

deal of interest and no little criticism in Italy. The treatise has been thoroughly revised and, to a considerable extent, rewritten for this translation. The rendering into English is well done and preserves well the spirit and style of the original.

The point of view from which Mr. Ferrero writes is that a general desire for peace is created by the present condition of the world and that the peace movement, so little understood by many, is the natural expression of this desire. The ethical demand for peace he does not make much of. The chief cause of the desire for it is the economic development of society, which is rendering war intolerable and absurd.

In the ten chapters of the book he discusses in order "Peace and War at the End of the Nineteenth Century," "Hordes, or the Origin of War," "The Defects of Ancient Civilization," "Militarism in the Ancient World," "The Death-Throes of a Nation," "Napoleon and His Wars," "Militarism and Caesarism in France," "The Military Outlook in Italy," "Militarism in England and Germany," and "Pax Christiana."

The reader will probably put a liberal supply of interrogation points upon the author's account of the origin and necessity of war in the ancient world, but he will, nevertheless, read with sustained interest and constant stimulation.

In "The Death-Throes of a Nation" Mr. Ferrero examines what he considers the symptoms of the decay of the Turkish Empire. After studying in further chapters the military constitution of some of the principal European states, he proceeds to show in his closing chapter that such have been the industrial and commercial changes in the civilized world that war has commenced to grow repugnant, has "lost its essential function," and ought to be forthwith abolished.

Here are some of the capital closing sentences of the book: "In this problem of war, as in every other, that incredulity which is due to the debasement of ideas to facts must also be overcome. The conscience of man must be awakened to the greatness of the historical moment in which we live, to the rapid progress going on around us." "None of the diplomatic conflicts which actually divide the nations of Europe are of a kind which cannot be settled without resort to arms. Indeed, modern civilization is so organized that the most powerful countries are those which most benefit by peace; because not war but the accumulation and right use of capital is what gives a nation supremacy nowadays." "It is our duty to free the eyes of the multitude from this evil of error which blinds them, by proclaiming the truth that war in Europe is to-day nothing but the ghost of dead injustices which, like the bogies of fiction, return from time to time, but only to alarm." "At last, after so many centuries of iniquity, the absurdity of the social system of war has been demonstrated by the decay of all the triumphs which war in its mysterious caprices conferred on men and people." "War in the past was the daughter of ignorance and vice and the mother of injustice. Were it to assume its former sway in modern society, it would generate sloth, ignorance and injustice in an aggravated form. War is in itself a pure injustice, and this alone ought to suffice to induce men to do all in their power to abolish it."

Pamphlets Received.

SUPPRESSION OF THE TRUTH. Protest of Senator Carmack, reprinted from the Congressional Record, March 2, 1903.

REPORT OF THE ANTHRACITE COAL STRIKE COMMISSION. From the Department of Labor, Washington.

LISTE DES ORGANES DU MOUVEMENT PACIFIQUE, to April 1, 1903. The International Peace Bureau, Berne, Switzerland.

LA QUESTION SOCIALE ET LA PAIX. By Professor Pierre Clerget. Published by the Central Committee of the Swiss Peace Society. Printed by George Dubois, La Chaux-de-Fonds, Switzerland.

THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE. Speech of Hon. John F. Lacey, of Iowa in the House of Representatives, December 16, 1902.

THE CRUCIAL TEST OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM. By Andrew S. Draper, president of the University of Illinois.

FARMING IN THE CITY. Sixth Annual Report of the Philadelphia Vacant Lots Cultivation Association.

THE SPOILS SYSTEM IN PHILADELPHIA. By Charles Richardson. Civil Service Reform Association of Philadelphia, Drexel Building, Philadelphia.

DIE HAUPTSAECHLICHSTEN MISSVERSTAENDNISSE UEBER DIE FRIEDENS-BEWEGUNG. By Alfred H. Fried, 40 Grunewaldstrasse, Berlin-Schöneberg, Germany.

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